



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

filled with horror, shame and indignation, and a great cry went up all over the land against the management of the war department.

We have no excuses to offer for the Secretary of War. We have little doubt that the investigation which has been ordered will, if thoroughly made, reveal both incompetency and corruption in the department. But the blame ought to be put primarily where it belongs. Given the circumstances under which the government rushed headlong into the war and the locality of the campaign, we do not believe that the most capable and honest man in the nation could have handled the department so as to have prevented, except in moderate measure, the horrors which came on like a whirlwind. They were, in kind at least, what had been foretold. They are therefore to be set down as a part of the crime of the war, chargeable to all those in Congress and elsewhere who so blindly precipitated the conflict. Mr. Alger was one of these. He was at the head of the war-party in the cabinet. He was thirsty for blood and honor. He must therefore bear the blame not only for the incompetency and corruption of the administration of the department but also that of having forced on the war in the beginning. He is reaping as he sowed, a double harvest of shame and dishonor. But multitudes of guilty men are throwing their own loads on to poor Alger's shoulders.

It makes one unspeakably sad to have to feel that all these horrors will soon be pushed out of sight by many, and that they will go on talking of the "glory" and the "righteousness" of war. There is no blindness greater than that which the war-god lets down upon human eyes.

General Sherman's famous saying, "War is Hell," has recently been much discussed. One magazine writer has attempted to show—that needed no demonstration—that the old fighter did not utter it in the interests of peace, and had no notion himself of joining a peace society. Sherman cared nothing for peace as a matter of principle. He was a fighter. That was his business. But he called the business by its right name. He was honest enough to reason straight about it. He made no pretensions to religion. He left that to his wife, so he said. When men in his presence tried to deck out war in garments of righteousness and glory, he said no. "You say that war is glory; I say it is hell." "Men who have nice notions about Christianity had better let war alone." "War is cruel and you cannot refine it." All this talk about the "glory" of war, the "righteousness" of it, the "civilizing" of it, he brushed aside as mere ignorant and hollow pretence. He did not shut his eyes to such horrors as were enacted in the recent war. He looked straight into them and described what he saw. No war ever showed more conspicuously than the recent one the utter impossibility of changing the inhuman character of war.

Hon. Thomas F. Bayard.

Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, who died on September 28, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, at Dedham, Mass., at the age of seventy, is universally conceded to have been one of the ablest and purest of American public men. He was as distinguished for honesty as for ability, a thing which we wish we could say of all men in public positions. A neighbor of his who had known him long, said that "God never made an honest man than Tom Bayard."

But whatever God had done for him through a long line of worthy and distinguished ancestors, Mr. Bayard had the high personal honor of having maintained his hereditary virtue, and of having developed and strengthened it to a point where it would not in the least give way before either financial or political temptations. United States Senator for sixteen years, Secretary of State for four years, Ambassador to Great Britain four years. Mr. Bayard might have been President, or at least have received the nomination of his party therefor, if he had been willing to play fast and loose with the questions of the currency and of civil service reform. But he was a greater man as he was, and did more both for the good and the honor of his country, than would have been the case if he had swerved a hair's breadth from his convictions and thereby become President.

Mr. Bayard never did more for his country and for humanity in any other position than when he was at the Court of St. James. A good deal has been said about the recent war with Spain having wiped out all animosity between this country and Great Britain. This is not a true statement of the case. An animosity which is apparently destroyed by war is very apt to come to life again at very inopportune times. War-friendships are extremely unreliable, and for our own part we should have little confidence in the sudden expression of friendly feeling between the two nations, if the roots of this feeling were not much deeper than the influence of the war. The disappearance of prejudices between this country and Great Britain has been going on for years, and the growing friendship between them has much deeper foundations than any temporary sympathies aroused by the war. This is the view taken by Professor Dicey in the October *Atlantic Monthly*, and it is certainly the true one.

When the history of this growing friendship shall have been truly written, Mr. Bayard will be found to have contributed as much to it as any other single individual. When at London, he made it a part of his official business to foster a better understanding between the two countries. He believed it to be a part of the duty of an ambassador to promote friendly international relations. He was willing to

incur censure at home in order that he might fulfil what he saw to be his duty in this regard. He did not hesitate to criticise his own country, when he believed it to be fostering wrong policies. He had that rare sort of patriotism which tries to bring the country up to higher standards of thinking and doing. He may have been imprudent at times, as was thought, but the path of duty often lies straight through what to others seems imprudence. There is sometimes no other honest way of proceeding. The turn which Anglo-American affairs have recently taken has silenced Mr. Bayard's critics. When the growing friendship is consummated in a permanent treaty of arbitration, which is as certain as fate, Mr. Bayard's name will have honorable mention, along with those of Gresham, Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, as one of those who in high official positions were chiefly instrumental in bringing it about.

Editorial Notes.

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, president of the American Peace Society, has been attending, as a delegate, the past month the Triennial Episcopal Convention in Washington. The Convention, or rather the House of Deputies, on the 20th ult., agreed to a letter to be sent to the Czar of Russia "hailing with joy the great peace manifesto" and "earnestly hoping that the conference may result in a reduction of the excessive armaments which are a crushing burden on the people, and in the establishment of some method of judicial arbitration for the settlement of international difficulties by which may be preserved the principles of equity and right whereon rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples." A resolution was also passed commending closer union between this country and Great Britain.

Hon. Walter Hazell, M. P., treasurer of the London Peace Society, has been spending, with two sons accompanying him, some weeks in Canada and the United States. We had a pleasant call from him at the office of the American Peace Society. Mr. Hazell is the senior member of the firm of Hazell, Watson and Viney, one of the largest printing companies in Great Britain. He was the founder of the Self-Help Emigration Society which has provided employment for more than five thousand people in the Canadian provinces. Mr. Hazell is a warm friend of the United States and is, with multitudes of other Englishmen, greatly desirous of the consummation of a permanent treaty of arbitration between his country and ours. In interviews with the *Boston Transcript* and the *Boston Herald* he expressed himself with some caution as to the present foreign problems of the United States, but in general he showed that he felt that what is called an "imperialistic policy" would be a

serious mistake on the part of the United States. He thought that one of the most practicable means of promoting closer fellowship between Englishmen and Americans was closer personal touch between them. Americans visiting England should take letters of introduction and see the people on their own ground. "Our ruins and museums are interesting, but they are not England. The life of our country is in our people, not in our masonry." There is a world of wisdom in this suggestion.

It is significant that the older statesmen of the nation are almost without exception opposed to the colonial imperialistic policy now so much talked of. Their judgment is the more valuable because they have had long experience in political affairs, have studied thoroughly the fundamental principles of our national constitution, and are better able, than others, to make a wise prognostication of the future effects of a radical change of our international policy. Senator Morrill, Senator Hoar, Ex-Senator Edmunds, Ex-Secretary Sherman, Carl Schurz, the late Thomas F. Bayard, and others have spoken in most decided terms against our expansion into the tropics at the present time and under existing conditions. We present in this issue the views on this subject of Hon. George S. Boutwell, one of the most experienced, judicious and patriotic statesmen of the generation now passing away. Mr. Boutwell has been Governor of Massachusetts, United States Senator and Secretary of the Treasury, and speaks with a wisdom to which the nation would do well to give heed. There is clearly a strong reaction throughout the nation, among people of all parties, against the imperialistic furor which at one time threatened to sweep everything before it. But the reaction has not come soon enough to prevent all the mischiefs. Some of the evil effects of the war have, as Mr. Boutwell says, already fixed themselves upon us. But there is still time to do something to lessen even these and to prevent others which still hang threateningly over us. Mr. Boutwell's address, though long, will well repay the most careful reading.

The unfortunate outbreak among the Chippewa Indians of Northern Minnesota, resulting in a clash with the troops and considerable loss of life, is clearly traceable, as has usually been the case in the Indian wars and massacres, to the white man's trespasses and greed and injustice. It has been proposed to remove these Indians to another reservation; they have not been properly paid for improvements in their present quarters, and their timber has been grossly undervalued by inspectors appointed under the last Administration. The immediate cause of the outbreak was the arrest by the United States officials of Bush Ear, the leader of a band which were engaged in the illegal sale of whiskey on the reservation.